1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

2

CEREMONIAL PRACTICES

346 THE Papago of former days had no house used solely for ceremonies. Their warm climate allowed them to hold most gatherings out-of-doors, but when necessary ceremonialists met in the hut occupied by the "keeper of the smoke" and his family.

SACRED HOUSES

The residence of the smoke keeper was built extra large and sometimes spoken of as the "big house." Now, when everyone, including the village leader, lives in a wattle-and-daub house of Mexican type, the "big house" is still made of brush, in the old "half-orange" shape. The keeper of the smoke lives near-by to guard it, and his wife keeps it clean.

No sacred objects are kept in the big house. It is merely a brush shelter, with open door; the writer has seen boys playing in it. However, women do not enter, except to assist in cleaning, and strangers are excluded. It is used principally for council meetings and for fermenting ceremonial liquor. Its connection with rain-making gives rise to its official name, *vâhki*, the word used for the ruins of the great-house builders.[1] It might be translated "house of waters," from *va*, or *wa* (an old root referring to moisture) and *ki* (house). However, since it is common in songs where the meter demands a short word, the term "rain house" has been adopted. This does not violate Papago forms of thought, since, say the Papago,

[1] Russell mistranslated the term "ancient house" (*va-aki*), perhaps mistaking the connection with Casa Grande, which the Pimans regard as the abode of a rain magician ("The Pima Indians," in Bureau of American Ethnology, *Annual Report*, *passim*).

[p.22]

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

"all our moisture comes from the sky." The abodes of the rain gods in the four directions are thought to be brush huts of this same sort.

For the anomalous prayer-stick festival a large, roofless enclosure is built, like the structures used by the Shoshonean Indians of southern California. It is roughly made and is pulled down when the ceremony is over.

SHRINES

Papagueria has many local shrines, all very crude and some not more than a cave or a stone, marking the place of some supernatural event. A list of the best-known ones follows.

Santa Rosa, Akchin, Archie.—These three places share the most elaborate of the shrines—a pile of stones surrounded by a fence of ocotillo stems, with openings toward all four directions. The stones, says tradition, cover a hole through which once the ocean water threatened to issue in a flood. It was stopped by the sacrifice of four children, a boy and a girl from each moiety. They were thrown into the hole, but remain alive underground; they are the patron supernaturals of the locality. At a little distance from their shrine is an olla that is said to have been put there for the first offering.

Kaka.—A hole where a great wind once entered the earth.

Poso Verde, Sonora.—A cave where the cannibal woman was suffocated by smoke, under I'itoi's directions.

Baboquivíri Mountain.—A cave where I'itoi lived while teaching his people.

Sikorhimat.—The spot where once a ceremonial clown fell dead, having run from Archie to bring a message.

Topawa.—A white rock which receives an offering of eagle down when rain is wanted.

Few of these shrines, except the "children's grave" at Santa Rosa, are associated with any special ceremony, but anyone visiting them leaves an offering, generally an arrow or some tobacco, and repeats some such invocation as the following: "I give you this; now bring me luck." They are still honored to such an extent that the writer, when passing near one, was bidden by her Papago companions to

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

When he was ready, his helper sprinkled him with corn meal. 796x He did not sprinkle the people in the enclosure, since they were in a sacred place and "did not need it." The sprinkler ran to all the houses in the village, starting at the east, where the enclosure was always placed. The two villages of Palo Verde Standing and Archie exchanged corn-meal sprinklers, the man from Archie going to Palo Verde and vice versa. Otherwise each village had one sprinkler for its own people.

On the last night before the public ceremony, each sprinkler went to the village to the west of him instead of to his own. The corn-meal sprinklers, like other helpers at this ceremony, must always run. To stop, except for the sprinkling of meal, was dangerous. The calender stick records that one man dropped the bell which announced to the people that he was coming, but dared not stop to pick it up.

On the eighth day a few selected men from each village went 796x to Archie to construct the huge brush enclosure for the main 346 ceremony. It was placed to the east (one informant said north) of the Archie ceremonial house, leaving a large space between the two for the dancing. The enclosure was like that for each village, but was some hundred feet across.

The men first cut mesquite poles about fifteen feet high, and placed them in a circle with an opening to the east. Then they tied on transverse stringers of cactus rib, fastened with strips of yucca leaves. Over this was a thatching of corn husks. Inside the enclosure effigies from all the villages were kept and the singers had their headquarters.

Just outside the enclosure was the space which had been marked 796x off on the day of announcement as representing the "fields" of the different villages. While the enclosure was being built, the clowns cleared and swept these fields with a great deal of horse play. They pretended not to be able to find the right fields; they moved boundary stakes and fought over the possession of them. All this must be done well before the ceremony which, supposedly, would bring rain and make work in the fields impossible.

The time for the ceremony was now approaching, and in the work enclosures the leaders urged their men:

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

PLATE XI

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June Clusby

a) Fun in the plaza

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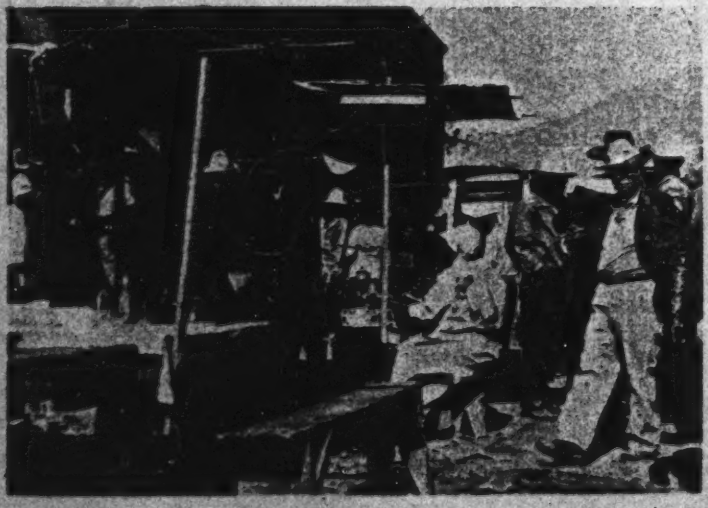

June Clusby

b) Lunch in the street restaurants

MAGDALENA FIESTA

[p.87]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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PALO VERDE, NEAR A PAPAGO CEMETERY
Among its branches bundles of clothing for the departed

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THE MEDICINE-LODGE AT SANTA ROSA

[Facing p. 72]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

having a delightful time meeting friends and enjoying the gifts of autumn. "When she decides to go home she will receive loads of provisions of the new year," remarked my interpreter. One of the principal men of Quitovac was making a round of calls for the same purpose. He had only a small field himself, for at Quitovac there is much competition with the Mexicans, but, as an Indian said, "he has only to sit down; all is coming to him."

On our arrival at La Nariz, Thursday, November 11, a cold, disagreeable wind from south south-west was blowing over the llano, after dark changing to westerly, whereupon it suddenly became northerly and warmer, the sky clearing of some threatening clouds in the south. In the small hours of the morning I awoke, to my surprise, from light rain falling on my tent, which lasted for half an hour. I had made friends among the Indians at the last place visited, and their compatriots here did their best to be obliging. The next day all the men gathered outside of my tent, and we had a five hours' talk on matters of interest to both sides. La Nariz is an Indian rancheria, its name being derived from a near-by mountain which, from a certain point of view, presents the profile of a human face with a well-marked nose.

There were only five families here living in rectangular houses of ocotillo poles laid horizontally and plastered with mud. I found them pleasant to deal with and anxious to preserve what there was left to them of ancient beliefs and customs. The soul of this endeavor was an elderly medicine-man, the principal man of the place. Two medicine lodges were noticed here, one of them

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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having had to be abandoned because a Papago woman during a rainy night had slept there. According to the notions of many primitive people, she was at the time unclean, and became the cause of the building of a new lodge. At the native cemetery many makai have been interred who on feast occasions are invited to take part with the living.

The old man's son had married a woman who was reputed to be a prophet—a female makai, with whom the principal men from Quitovac and other localities at times consulted. She looked about thirty years old and had been totally blind for three years. According to her own account, she had previous to her blindness suffered for a year from violent headache and pain in the eyes. I have seen Indians made blind through small-pox, their eyes covered in a similar way with large whitish spots over the iris. In the house of this couple were held the nightly meetings that usually took place at the new medicine lodge, as the latter had been temporarily profaned by the interference of an ox that had browsed and torn the straw of which its dome-shaped roof was composed.

I proposed to my Papago interpreter, Clemente, that we should attend that evening, as nothing worse could happen to us than to be told that our presence was not desired. A brisk fire was burning as we entered, making the interior look attractive though there was no outlet for the smoke except through the door. Several mats had been spread on the earthen floor around the fire for the participants to sit upon. Two were placed for Clemente and me, on which we immediately seated ourselves, thus

13:Davis E-5 (1920) 1920 NU28 Papago NU28

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which were several bells and sea-shells strung on deerskin thongs.

In the afternoon of August 4, Manuel Ortega, aided by all the other house-owners, made four small piles of sand in front of his house, and later two men, wearing deer-skin masks with feathers, and girdles with jingling shells and bells, came to the house, headed by a leader and followed by a crowd of men and boys. The leader placed pinches of cornmeal on each pile of sand, and a bunch of medicine-feathers on one of the piles. Four times he put the pinches of meal around, and then one of the men shot a small arrow into one of the sand-piles. A [431] pail of figs was presented to the performers by the house-owner, and in an hour the performance was repeated. This is a kind of blessing, and is said to insure good luck to the household for the ensuing year.

On the night of the fourth everybody went out to the fiesta grounds, where two [346] booths, made of the wood of the saguaro cactus, semicircular in form and about 100 feet apart, had been built. In each of these, at short intervals, two men having

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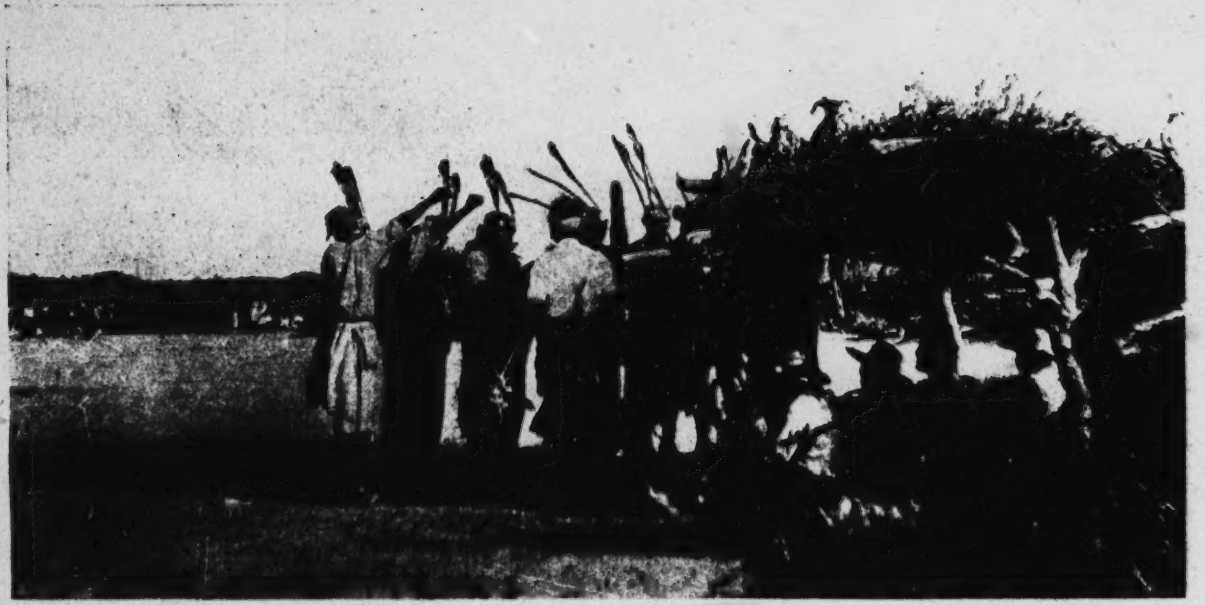
PL. XI

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28
[facing p. 172 (B)]

THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CEREMONY AND THE FOUR SINGERS IN THE BOOTH

(Photograph by Joseph Menager)



SINGING AND DANCING BEFORE THE SINGERS' BOOTH

One of the ceremonial booths of cactus ribs may be seen in the distance. (Photograph by Joseph Menager)

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

[FACING P. 174]

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[Arizona Labor Camps]

519 of necessity, much
52 more reliance is placed by harvest hands on forms of amusement requiring a minimum of equipment and space: drinking, crap shooting, card playing, sexual indulgence.

799 Cotton pickers hauled from towns each day of course
529 had recreational resources of those population centers at their disposal. They could attend church on Sunday.
[563] Farmers make little effort to provide access to churches for their employees in labor camps. For some cotton pickers racial discrimination is a problem. As one Negro woman at Marana said, "There's a church over there, all right. But we don't know if they take colored. We don't go." For Catholic Papagos as Catholic Mexican-Americans, this is no problem. But farmers don't provide Sunday transportation to trading towns. The Desert People stay in labor camps on the Sabbath, except for a few from San Xavier who can take a bus home for the day occasionally.

529 About half the Papago women in the camps do some washing on Sunday.[1] An occasional individual picks some
[978] cotton, but most simply loaf around camp with nothing constructive to occupy them. Sonora Catholics make their household shrines in a corner of their cabins, and use
527 them. In labor camps where all residents are Papagos, or
346 where there are many of the Desert People in a large camp, they take over an empty cabin to furnish a chapel where they can hold their services.[2] One far-sighted farmer who understood his Papago employees built a fine chapel for them when he constructed a new concrete block camp, but such understanding is indeed rare. Labor camp chapels seem to serve a quarter of the Papago harvest hands.[3]

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[1] Based on information from 8 families.

[2] "Sonora Catholicism antedates other Christian faiths on
529 the Reservation today, for the belief and practice of Son-
799 ora Catholics are remants of the teachings of the early
795 Spanish missionaries, acquired either directly from the pa-
346 dres, or through other Indians or Mexicans. During the
[979] generations when no Catholic clergy came to Papagueria and the nearest priests were far away in Mexico, the faithful carried on as best they could the ceremonies and devotions of the church.

[978] "With the absence of priests and the passage of time,
[979] much of the Roman creed and ritual vanished. In the Sonora Catholic churches, for example, there are no Mass, no hymns and prayers in Latin, no confession, and no marriage ceremony. Children are baptised by godparents, and the people bury their own dead." Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 61-62.

[3] Based on information from 8 families.